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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 14 January 1994, at 4.40 p.m.

President:	Mr. KOVANDA	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. CARDENAS
	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	New Zealand	Mr. van BOHEMEN
	Nigeria	Mr. GAMBARI
	Oman	Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Rwanda	Mr. BIZIMANA
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER

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The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA (S/1994/16)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of South Africa in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Steward (South Africa) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should also like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 14 January 1994 from the representatives of Djibouti, Nigeria and Rwanda on the Security Council, which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that the Security Council invite Mr. Kingsley Makhubela, Acting Chief Representative of the African National Congress (ANC), to address it during the course of its consideration of the item 'The question of South Africa' in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure."

(The President)

This letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/33.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Makhubela.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(The President)

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the question of South Africa; this report is contained in document S/1994/16.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/28, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of South Africa, on whom I now call.

Mr. STEWARD (South Africa): May I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. It is difficult to conceive of a more challenging responsibility than the assumption of the presidency in the first month of membership of the Council. My delegation has no doubt that you will acquit yourself of your responsibilities with great distinction, as indeed your record to date already confirms.

May I say at the outset, by way of a general comment, that, as a delegation that has always been intimately involved with this agenda item, my delegation is speaking now to mark a milestone in the Council's deliberations, in a spirit of appreciation and cooperation. My delegation has no desire to unleash a debate or arouse controversy on this issue. But the Council will appreciate that certain constraints still remain on our participation in debate in the other place where this item may be debated - the General Assembly - although, in our view, those constraints are

(Mr. Steward, South Africa)

inappropriate in the present circumstances. So we currently have no option but to make our supportive views known in this particular forum.

In that sense, I have been instructed by my Government to make a brief statement.

A mere 18 months ago Foreign Minister R. F. Botha, at an earlier stage of the negotiating process, quoted a poem in this Council which read:

"Courage, friends, hold fast;
The bad will turn to good;
Out of the darkness comes the dawn!"

South Africa's dawn is in sight. We have entered our transition to a new South Africa. Transitional structures have been put in place and are now fully operational, engaged in levelling the political playing fields for the elections.

In addition, the new interim constitution for South Africa has been adopted by Parliament. It provides for: the establishment of a constitutional system where the constitution will be sovereign; the protection of basic rights of all individuals, communities and cultural groups through a universally acceptable bill of rights, which will be entrenched in the constitution; an independent constitutional court that will act as the guardian of the constitution and the bill of rights; clearly defined constitutional principles with which any future constitution will have to comply; a balanced division of functions and powers between provincial governments based on federal principles and the central government; and finally, a constitution which does not discriminate in any way on the basis of colour, creed or gender.

(Mr. Steward, South Africa)

My Government welcomes the Security Council's proposal to assist South Africa to promote the peaceful and transparent constitutional transition to a government of national unity. Today's meeting of the Council will doubtless be cited in days to come as an important benchmark in the history of the United Nations.

Permit me to congratulate the United Nations Special Representative for South Africa, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and his team and the Secretary-General's survey team - all of whom visited South Africa last month - on producing a very comprehensive, constructive and professional report. As the Council is aware, the Secretary-General's proposals were made after wide-ranging discussions by the Special Representative in South Africa, consequent to the Secretary-General's meeting with State President de Klerk in September 1993 in New York. Foreign Minister Botha, moreover, wrote to the Secretary-General on 1 December 1993 suggesting that the United Nations should give immediate consideration to advance planning for a possible United Nations role in the election process in South Africa. In the light of subsequent developments, I am confident that the Secretary-General will concur in my making the contents of Mr. Botha's letter known to the Council:

"The Independent Electoral Commission Act of 1993 makes provision for observers from the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations to be accredited by the Sub-Council of Foreign Affairs of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in consultation with the Department of Foreign

(Mr. Steward, South Africa)

Affairs, in order to observe and report on the electoral process.

"The South African Government therefore shares the view that the work of the observers appointed in terms of Security Council resolution 772 (1992), should continue and that, given its experience in this field, the United Nations should be encouraged to give effect to its offer of assistance during the run-up to the elections.

"The Government appreciates that giving effect to this proposal would entail a marked increase in the number of observers and that their mandate would differ from that agreed upon in terms of Security Council resolution 772 (1992). It is, however, willing to discuss these matters with you as soon as the competent United Nations bodies have reached agreement on the principle.

"My Government is aware that concerns have been expressed that delay in reaching agreement might make it difficult for the United Nations to mount an effective operation. It would therefore suggest that immediate consideration be given to advance planning, in order to ensure that, when the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) become operational, further delays can be avoided."

The Secretary-General's report sets out in detail the legal framework set up in South Africa within which the April 1994 elections will be held, as well as the operational approach for the expanded United Nations operation. The main thrust of the expanded mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa

(Mr. Steward, South Africa)

(UNOMSA), as reflected in the Secretary-General's report, will be to assist in ensuring that the election is legitimate, free and fair. The legitimacy of the election must be placed beyond all doubt. Consequently, my Government is in agreement that the role of the international observers should focus on inhibiting political violence and intimidation and bringing about tolerance. An important function of the observers will be to inhibit political parties as much as possible from engaging in unacceptable behaviour that impinges on free and fair participation by others.

Although the situation in South Africa is irreversible, resistance by some entities, notably the radical left and the reactionary right, is being encountered. The Secretary-General's report accurately records that political violence continues to be concentrated mainly in Natal and the East Rand, where it is centred on the townships of Katlehong and Thokoza. The tragic situation in these areas was the topic of discussions between State President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela earlier this week and was immediately taken up by the Transitional Executive Council. Hopefully, new initiatives will serve to abate this tragic problem. The report also notes that right-wing violence is increasing, and another trend, that of attacks on civilians by left-wing armed formations, also must be addressed; a recent example of this trend is the indiscriminate and horrifying attack on a students' tavern in Observatory, Cape Town.

(Mr. Steward, South Africa)

The electoral process may not be smooth in every respect and attempts may well be made to draw the international observers into local disputes. Their objectivity and impartiality will be crucial and may be severely tested. We are optimistic, however, that the expanded United Nations operation will follow in the footsteps of the present observer Missions which have been effective and have made a significant contribution to the efforts of the National Peace Secretariat and other Peace Accord structures to combat violence.

The Secretary-General's report recognizes the following essential principles: the closest possible interaction with the South African transitional structures and the setting-up of joint cooperative structures; the importance of United Nations coordination of the activities of observers from intergovernmental organizations and individual Governments; and the need effectively to cooperate with South African and foreign non-governmental organizations.

Recently in Oslo, State President de Klerk gave his views on peace. He noted that peace is both a frame of mind and a framework. A framework for peace in South Africa has been agreed upon. Peace itself will arrive if we can now establish the right frame of mind in political leaders and ordinary people everywhere, a frame of mind which leads people to resolve differences through negotiation, compromise and agreements instead of compulsion and violence.

I should be failing in my duty were I not to express my appreciation to the members of the Security Council for their

(Mr. Steward, South Africa)

sympathetic and expeditious response to the request by South Africa for support in the forthcoming electoral process. We trust that deployment of the observers will proceed promptly and smoothly. I assure Council members that the observers will receive the full cooperation of the South African authorities and all those involved in the process, including respect for their safety as has been the case so far in respect of the present Observer Mission.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of South Africa for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Kingsley Makhubela, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKHUBELA: First, I must express my gratitude to you, Sir, for allowing me to make a statement during this crucial and important debate on South Africa. The draft resolution that is about to be adopted will indeed assist us greatly in our efforts to secure a peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy. We thank all members of the Security Council for their continued efforts towards the total eradication of the apartheid system, one of the most horrendous and vicious systems ever experienced by humanity anywhere in the world.

Let me seize this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Brahimi for his appointment as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for South Africa. He is certainly no newcomer to the struggle against apartheid or the sphere of international politics and diplomacy. We are grateful that Mr. Brahimi is bringing his valuable experience to our country and we pledge our cooperation

(Mr. Makhubela)

with him in the fulfilment of his task. We are indebted to the Secretary-General for appointing Mr. Brahimi as his Special Representative for South Africa and for his detailed report presented here today. We welcome that report and hope that all other parties involved will also welcome the initial recommendations it contains.

We also applaud the Secretary-General's efforts to encourage those who have not so far been fully committed to the electoral process. We urge the Secretary-General to continue in his efforts to encourage them to make a commitment in the democratic process now under way in South Africa, and we hope that the Council will continue to render effective support to our people during this transition.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Makhubela for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): I wish to congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your assumption at short notice of the presidency of the Council for this month. My delegation is indeed pleased with your skills.

Let me also express our gratitude and respect to your predecessor Ambassador Li Zhaoxing of China.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

My delegation is deeply grateful to the Secretary-General for his most comprehensive and insightful report on the general situation in South Africa, the views of the major players and the requirements for an effective international observer-monitor role in the coming election process and elections. We are particularly pleased at the appointment of Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for South Africa. He is a most capable and experienced diplomat who has already demonstrated his considerable skills in the brief period since he assumed his post. His briefing of the Council yesterday on the situation in South Africa and the views of key participants was most useful, intelligent and perceptive.

Although South Africa has been on the United Nations "most wanted" list for some 30 years, our active involvement can be traced to the fall-out of the Boipatong massacre of 17 June 1992, which prompted the Council to adopt resolution 765 (1992) inviting the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative to the country and to recommend ways to end the violence and create conditions for a peaceful transition to democracy. Shortly thereafter, we adopted resolution 772 (1992), which authorized the deployment of the first United Nations observers in that turbulent country.

As the report indicates, South Africa appears determined to hold elections that will be perceived by all to be free and fair. To this end, the new Transitional Executive Council (TEC), in its first meeting on 7 December, requested that United Nations activities be expanded beyond violence-monitoring to include observation of the electoral process which will culminate in

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

observation of the polling on election day. As the General Assembly and the Council anticipated late last year, the United Nations has been asked to provide a sufficient number of election observers and to coordinate the activities of a large, diverse group of international monitors who will be present. It is pleasing to see in the report the extent to which the United Nations is able to draw upon its growing election experiences to forge a programme meeting South Africa's specific needs. The draft resolution before us covers most of the requirements for the United Nations to be able to fulfil the TEC's requests, and my delegation therefore supports it.

We also support the Secretary-General's intention to set up a trust fund to assist African and other developing countries wishing to participate as observers in meeting the cost involved, with the hope that Member States will contribute generously. The Secretary-General has outlined very well the many activities that will have to be undertaken, the structure he has in mind to do this, and the restricted time frame in which we must operate before the elections take place on 27 April.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

We support, therefore, the Secretary-General's concept of a Coordinating Committee, with its technical task force and joint operating units, as well as the increase in manpower called for by way of observers, administrators and professionals.

Many organizations and entities have played a strong role in bringing about change in South Africa. From the early days of apartheid's appearance the United Nations has actively opposed, within the confines of cold war politics, the repressive policy. The Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and other international organizations and countries were similarly instrumental in thwarting apartheid's hold. With the demise of the cold war, rapid changes in the world economy, and political developments in the region pointing towards further isolation, South Africa has opted to join the world community as a full member. It was a wise choice. This is the country that for over a quarter of a century was saddled with crippling international sanctions and considered a pariah State, isolated as almost no other on the face of the earth.

The course will not be easy, as we all recognize. There is much jockeying for control, for power, for sheer existence within the political sphere. Of the 26 parties in the Multiparty Negotiating Process (MPNP), which began the job of redesigning South Africa's political landscape, only 19 signed the interim constitution. Those opposed - essentially a collection of right-wing diehards unable to accept the loss of status and power, and African parties seeking to carve out separate status and privileges for themselves - are determined to use any means necessary to thwart these progressive measures. While they are powerful and

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

committed, they are localized and identifiable. We can expect, however, the use of violence to rise in townships, against selected leaders and groups, and in the form of economic warfare. This right-wing threat, created by their non-participation, will call for strong unity and consensus among those who operate within the system.

Exercising power and the vote will be a learning experience for everyone in South Africa, for the system has to be seen to work. And the system and its workings are indeed complex. A parliament must be selected, a government appointed, a court system erected, and a final constitution drafted. Real, active politics have begun in South Africa.

It is perhaps time which places all these events in bold relief, and there is not enough of it. While the National Peace Accord and its Secretariat, peace committees, national peace committee and codes of conduct can be expected to play a valuable role in maintaining peace and educating the voters, there is a discernible weakness in resources, commitment and time. To oppose violence, reliance must be placed on security forces, many of which have their sympathies elsewhere. The ideal would have been to shake them up, but again there is not enough time to select, train and assign such a force before the elections.

I have sketched this overview to simply underscore the pivotal role the United Nations would play in this situation. Throughout the election process the United Nations will be able to monitor, report, expose, and record the actions of the players and the workings of the system. With so large and diverse a group of

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

international observers, covering so intense a process, culminating in elections in over 10,000 polling booths, the job of coordination, logistics, and administration will be formidable. With its mounting election experiences, widespread acceptance and respect in South Africa, and its perception as fair and impartial, the United Nations is uniquely placed to undertake this multifaceted task.

South Africa has come a long way in a short period of time, and will play a significant role in the future of the region and Africa as a whole. The effort now to bring the population into the election process and to obtain a government seen as fair and legitimate, is necessary for all. The requirements of the United Nations, administratively and financially, are reasonable in view of what is at stake.

My delegation therefore supports the Secretary-General in his concepts, proposals and requests. It is a well-conceived plan that we believe will play a decisive role in the task of wrenching South Africa from the doomed path of anarchy, destruction, perhaps even oblivion. The international community extends a hand of goodwill to all South Africans at this momentous hour in the hope they will see in the undoubted greatness of their country's potential a value more real and satisfying than the unseemly defense of unjustly attained personal benefits and racial separation. It is our sincere wish that we shall soon see a democratic, nonracial, and united South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): Since this is the first occasion that my delegation is taking the floor in a formal meeting of the Security Council this year, I would like to begin by extending a very warm welcome to the new members of the Council.

I also wish to felicitate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Council and on the brilliant manner in which you are conducting the Council's business, your country's recent membership of the Council notwithstanding. My delegation will continue to extend to you its fullest cooperation in the discharge of your responsibilities.

I cannot allow this opportunity to go by without placing on record my delegation's deep admiration for the exemplary leadership provided to the Security Council by Ambassador Li, the Permanent Representative of China, during the month of December 1993.

My delegation is most grateful to the Secretary-General for his very well-structured and clear report on South Africa. We are also most appreciative of the dedicated efforts of Mr. Brahimi, the Secretary-General's Special Representative for South Africa.

The general elections scheduled for 27 April 1994 in South Africa would be a development of great historic importance and should bring down the curtain on a long and painful era in the history of South Africa. It would signify the victory of forces of democracy and egalitarianism over the dark forces of racism and bigotry. We therefore find it crucially important that every effort be made to ensure that these elections are conducted in a free and fair manner in a peaceful environment and lead to the emergence of that country as a democratic, non-racial and united entity.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

While the prospect of a general election in South Africa open to all its people on the basis of equality is a most encouraging, indeed an exciting denouement, we are concerned at reports of continuing violence in parts of that country. It is evident that extremist elements want to disrupt the on-going process in South Africa or at least make the election as messy as possible. Indeed, acts of violence can be expected to increase as the election date draws nearer and the fringe elements find themselves more and more marginalized. We are, however, confident that the people of South Africa will not allow these elements to derail or slow down the process of peaceful change in their country. The presence of a large number of international observers would, no doubt, act as a check on racially or politically motivated violence.

It is, therefore, important that United Nations observers be deployed in South Africa well ahead of the general election. Taking into account the size and population of the country, as well as the fact that there would be about 10,000 polling stations, the total of 5,000 international observers, which the Secretary-General anticipates, might be just enough to ensure an adequate coverage of all polling areas. My delegation agrees that the deployment of almost 1,800 United Nations observers and the setting up of effective mechanisms for proper coordination of activities among all the observer groups would be a colossal task, especially in view of the little time available to put all the arrangements in place. Thus, while endorsing the deployment programme outlined in the Secretary-General's report, we would encourage him to proceed with as much despatch as possible. In the ultimate analysis, the

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

adequacy of the number of observers deployed would depend on how peaceful is the run-up to the election and the polling itself. We would also like to mention here that all the regions of world should be adequately represented in the United Nations Observer Group.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

The draft resolution before us is straightforward and to the point. The alacrity with which it has been finalized represents the priority that the Council attaches to the question of South Africa and to joint commitment to the democratic process in that country.

The PRESIDENT I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to my country and to myself.

Mr. BIZIMANA (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): As the Security Council is considering today the agenda item devoted to the question of South Africa, I should like to express, on behalf of the Rwandan delegation, our appreciation for the quality of the report of the Secretary-General, which provides a plan for the role which the United Nations must play in the electoral process in South Africa. We would also praise the efforts made by Mr. Brahimi, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

My delegation also wishes to praise the courage and sense of responsibility which the parties involved in the multiparty negotiations have displayed which have made it possible to establish constitutional agencies to guide the country during the transitional period, which must lead to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

In this context, I should like to point out that Rwanda remains convinced that, in order to guarantee peaceful and profound changes in South African society, the international community must continue to support vigorously the efforts undertaken by the South African people.

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

It is against this background that we pay particular tribute to all the actions undertaken by the United Nations through the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), actions which are supported by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Commonwealth and the European Union, thanks to their generous contribution to the process of transition in South Africa.

Generally speaking, my delegation pays tribute to the international community for its support, thanks to which South Africa has reached a stage where the transition towards democracy is now enshrined in the national legislation of that country.

While repeating Rwanda's commitment to the success of the democratic process under way in South Africa, I wish to express our concern over the resurgence of violence in South Africa to such a level that the outcome of numerous initiatives mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report and undertaken to contain that violence is far from encouraging.

We feel that the situation, which may be prejudicial to the proper holding of elections, argues in favour of setting up measures and machinery to eradicate this persistent scourge and to guarantee the holding of free and democratic elections.

Therefore we urge the parties concerned to abstain from continuing violence and to commit themselves to the forthcoming elections.

In this context, we firmly support the request made by the Transitional Executive Council, whereby the United Nations would

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

make available to it a sufficient number of international observers.

In the light of the stakes involved and of the challenge to be met, we join in the appeal to strengthen the presence of the United Nations in South Africa, considering that it would be indispensable to ensure that the observers arrive in South Africa well before the elections are held.

We would also like the proposed expansion of the mandate of UNOMSA to be able to contribute to generating a climate to promote the security conditions necessary for the proper holding of the elections scheduled for 27 April 1994.

In order to ensure the maximum credibility of this electoral process, we feel that in addition to the United Nations, States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should actively contribute to each stage of the process on the understanding that such all-embracing contributions require sustained coordination which the United Nations must skilfully and efficiently ensure.

In the same context, we welcome the intention of the Secretary-General to establish a special trust fund to finance the participation of additional observers coming from African and other developing countries, and we hope that the international community will contribute generously to that fund.

My delegation also shares the understanding that the consolidation of the democratic transformation of South Africa

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

requires a commitment by the international community to that country's sustained economic growth.

We hope that the international community will give considerable and varied assistance to help the new Government to raise the socio-economic living standards of the most deprived sectors of the South African population. That will, in the long run, permit the resolution of certain problems, including the violence which prevails in the country and which threatens the process of transformation now under way.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize that the Rwandan delegation, welcoming the progress achieved by the South African people on the road which has led to this decisive phase in history; and being aware of the need for the international community to continue to help the South African people carry out this process successfully, will vote in favour of the draft resolution that the Council is about to adopt.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation is happy that our Council has met today on a question that has been the subject of a widespread consensus within the international community.

On 27 April, South Africans will be participating in the first truly democratic elections in the history of that country. This extraordinary event has been made possible by the determination of men and women who, by common consent, have agreed to put an end to the unacceptable apartheid regime which our Organization has consistently condemned.

(Mr. Merimee, France)

These elections, for this reason, deserve the full support of our Council and of the international community.

Here, France wishes to pay a sincere tribute to President De Klerk and to the President of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, without whom these developments, which were inconceivable only a few years ago, could never have taken place.

That notwithstanding, much hard work remains to be done before the elections. Millions of voters will have to register on the electoral rolls to participate in the vote. They will have to be given minimal training if elections are to be held as democratically as possible. Finally, as the Secretary-General has stressed, acts of violence could disrupt the smooth functioning of the voting operations.

My delegation would express the hope that the parties in South Africa and, in particular, those which have not agreed to participate in the multiparty negotiations, will refrain from any acts of violence or intimidation, both against the voters and against international observers, and thereby contribute to the holding of these free and fair elections.

France, for its part, will spare no effort to enable South Africans to express themselves freely on the occasion of these first elections which constitute for South Africa the beginning of a great new human adventure.

Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY (Oman): Allow me at the outset to thank Your Excellency for presiding over the Council for this month and to express my delegation's warm congratulations on the excellent manner in which you have been skilfully steering the work of this Council. We are confident that your wise and genuine leadership will lead us to a favourable conclusion.

I should also like to take this opportunity to extend my sincerest congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Li of China, for successfully presiding over the Council last month.

Today, this Council is considering once again the question of South Africa. As we all know, the situation in South Africa has always been one of the important issues, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council.

(Mr. Al-Khussaiby, Oman)

Resolutions have been adopted with a view to finding a solution and to reaching a legal framework which would result in a fair and just electoral process.

We commend the role played by the Secretary-General and the efforts of his Special Representatives. The creation of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) was timely. We are confident that the democratic system of government reflected in the coming election will pave the way for a new South Africa, in which all the people of that country will have a role to play.

We hope that all parties will participate in this historic electoral process, and in this regard my delegation supports the expansion of the mandate of UNOMSA, as proposed by the Secretary-General in his report (S/1994/16) of 10 January 1994.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/28.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 894 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): First, may I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency and your country's election to the Security Council. We would like also to thank the Permanent Representative of China, Ambassador Li, for his outstanding leadership of the Council during the month of December. On this occasion, may I also welcome the other new members of the Council.

I would like to take this opportunity to express our deep regret and sorrow at the passing of the Foreign Minister of Norway, Mr. Holst. We knew him in our country as a student, as a professor and as a distinguished Minister of Defence and of Foreign Affairs. His contribution to international peace and security in the context of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and during the Israeli-PLO negotiations are well known and will be long remembered. We would like to express our profound condolences to his family and the people of Norway.

Today's vote marks another step in the United Nations long history of support for the dismantlement of apartheid and the transition to non-racial democracy in South Africa. South Africa's first non-racial election, on 27 April, will be an important milestone in that country's own transition to true multi-party democracy. A free and fair election will open the way for a majority government and will herald South Africa's return to the international community. My Government strongly and unequivocally supports this resolution, which calls for the immediate deployment of United Nations observers to assist in South Africa's election process.

(Mr. Walker, United States)

The dramatic developments in South Africa over the last years give encouragement to all who hope for peace, equality and justice. The stalemate and recrimination of the recent past have given way to a new spirit of progress and promise for the future. We urge all parties to build on that progress and to put an end finally to the violence that threatens it. That South Africa today is poised on the brink of non-racial democracy is great testimony to the courage and perseverance of the South African people and their leaders.

The multi-party talks culminated recently in the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and agreements on a transitional constitution, a bill of rights and other foundation stones of South Africa's transition to non-racial democracy. All South Africans can be proud of their achievements. In the face of considerable violence and challenges from those determined to undercut the democratic process, South African leaders pressed onward with negotiations and reached agreement on a political system that provides rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour or gender.

Election preparations and campaigning are now under way. My Government joins with the international community in calling on all parties that have not yet chosen to participate to join the process. Participation will ensure a voice in the formation of South Africa's final constitution and political future. Let me stress that my Government has made clear its expectation that all parties will honour those negotiated agreements reached in the

(Mr. Walker, United States)

pre-election period. We will support the new South Africa in that context.

My Government is pleased that responsible South Africans have welcomed the important role played by the United Nations in South Africa, particularly that of the United Nations peace observers currently in South Africa. We welcome the transformation of the role of those peace observers to that of election observers. The United Nations experience in election observation has been one of success - from the 1990 elections in neighbouring Namibia to, most recently, the vote in Cambodia.

We call on all South Africans to cooperate with the efforts of the United Nations observers, as well as the other observers, both official and non-governmental. My Government is strongly committed to supporting the efforts of United Nations Special Representative Brahimi, in whose ability and integrity we have full confidence. We call on the United Nations and other international observers, the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the South African Government and the political parties to work closely together to ensure that these elections are free and fair.

My Government expects that in carrying out the Secretary-General's report the United Nations will make every effort to keep costs as low as possible, consistent with ensuring effective observation of the South African elections. The United States intends to pursue this objective in the appropriate forums.

(Mr. Walker, United States)

This is truly a defining moment in South African history. The international community and the people of South Africa are united in the goal of ensuring that South Africa's transition to democracy continues to be a successful one. The United States joins the international community in celebrating this achievement.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me.

Mr. van BOHEMEN (New Zealand): My delegation warmly welcomes the new members of the Security Council. We particularly welcome you, Sir, in your role as President for this month and commend you for the way you have guided us thus far. We also congratulate Ambassador Li of China for his skilful leadership of the Council last month.

New Zealand has given its full support to the urgent adoption of the resolution before the Council. The resolution is a crucial step towards one of the most important events of the year, if not the decade - the first truly democratic election in South Africa. Our support is consistent with New Zealand's long-standing desire to see an end to apartheid and the creation of a new and democratic South Africa on the basis of equality for all South Africans.

This resolution responds to South Africa's need for practical assistance from the United Nations in fostering the right climate for democratic elections and in verifying the results. It is appropriate that the United Nations response will involve both the Council and the General Assembly in giving effect to the request from the Transitional Executive Council.

(Mr. van Bohemen, New Zealand)

As well as expressing urgency, this resolution makes reference to the interim constitution - the very centre-piece of reform in South Africa. It establishes the legal formulation for government by the people - all the people. It is South Africa's first post-apartheid non-racial constitutional framework, and a most welcome development.

(Mr. van Bohemen, New Zealand)

New Zealand shares the Council's consensus view that the Secretary General's recommendations for the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) are practical and flexible. We accept the Secretary-General's assessment of the resource and personnel requirements for support for South Africa's first-ever non-racial and democratic election.

We are pleased that this resolution provides for cooperation between UNOMSA and the Commonwealth Observer Mission, as well as with the observer missions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the European Union and those of South African and other national governmental and non-governmental participants. We should note here that New Zealand is ready to participate in both the United Nations and the Commonwealth endeavours. We are pleased that the head of the Commonwealth Observer Mission during this critical period will be from New Zealand.

We share the optimism that a free and fair election will take place in April. But we cannot lose sight of the spectre of ongoing violence in South Africa. We note, therefore, our satisfaction that this resolution lays down a very important message to those parties disposed to engage in violence. Political intimidation and violent attempts to disrupt the elections are unacceptable. The international community will unreservedly condemn anyone who attempts to use such methods. Furthermore, we expect that proponents of violence, whoever they may be, will be held accountable.

(Mr. van Bohemen, New Zealand)

In this context we are pleased that the resolution draws attention to the need for all parties to respect the United Nations observers and other observers and to facilitate their mission.

In conclusion, we believe the action we have taken today will contribute in a very practical way to the realization of an objective that the United Nations has pursued for almost half a century: a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of New Zealand for the kind words he addressed to me.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): May I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency, and to congratulate Ambassador Li on his handling of the Council during the month of December.

It is a source of great pleasure for my Government that the Security Council has just adopted this resolution. It marks a further step in South Africa's progress towards a democracy embracing all South Africans and towards the settlement of a problem of extreme difficulty and sensitivity that has exercised the United Nations throughout its existence. We take this opportunity to pay a tribute once again to the wisdom and leadership of all those who have worked for peace and reconciliation in South Africa and to reaffirm our strong support for the transition under way.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

My Government attaches great importance to the election-monitoring activity undertaken by the United Nations, and we are encouraged to note that this is a growth industry. All elections are, by their very nature, important, but few can be as important as that which will take place on 27 April in South Africa. We have every confidence that those who have worked so hard to bring it about will now want to ensure that it will be free and fair. But it is important that it should be seen by all to be so.

It is obviously right that the international community do all it can to ensure that the elections are a success. It is vital that voters have confidence that they will have a fair chance to cast their votes secretly and unimpeded. This is also the key in terms of validating the election result. We continue to hope that all parties will participate in these elections, which are aimed at the creation of a non-racial multi-party democracy.

This resolution rightly underlines the coordinating role of the United Nations in drawing together the efforts of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) with those of the missions sent by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), by the Commonwealth and by the European Union, as well as those which are likely to be sent by individual Governments and non-governmental organizations. The efforts so far of the four main observer missions have been collaborative, and that coordination needs now to be intensified. My Government looks forward to the participation of British observers in the United Nations Mission itself and also in those of the Commonwealth and of the European Union.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

It is right, too, that this resolution refers to the need to curb the violence and intimidation that continue to be disturbing features of an otherwise encouraging scene in South Africa. We appeal to all those engaged in the political process in South Africa to work together to ensure that the violence ends. For many decades the future of South Africa seemed dark and doomed to lead to violence. Now that, at last, the main political groups are working together to turn their backs on that past, it is surely time to base the future of the country on the ballot box and not on the gun.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January, and I should like to assure you that you can count unreservedly on the full support of our delegation.

I also wish to express our gratitude to the Permanent Representative of China, Ambassador Li, for the outstanding work he did as President of the Council in the month of December 1993.

The Russian delegation extends a warm welcome to all the new members of the Security Council.

In connection with the untimely death of Norway's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Johan Jorgen Holst, an outstanding statesman who contributed greatly to the resolution of international problems, especially problems in the Middle East, I should like to

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

express deepest sympathy to the people and the Government of Norway and the family of the deceased.

The Russian delegation feels satisfaction at the resolution adopted today by the Security Council regarding the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) in the electoral process in that country. This resolution will undoubtedly promote the successful preparation and conduct of the first general elections held in the history of that country, elections which will open the way towards the achievement of a long-sought goal: the definitive elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

At this extremely complicated period of South Africa's destiny, constructive dialogue is more necessary than ever. Also, all the political structures in the country must be prepared to cooperate with each other so that elections can take place in normal, peaceful conditions. In this connection, we consider it important that the resolution urges all parties, including those that did not participate in the multi-party negotiations, to respect the agreements reached during those negotiations, to demonstrate their commitment to democratic principles, and to participate in the forthcoming elections. The resolution's appeal to all parties to take measures to end the violence and intimidation and thus contribute to the conduct of free and fair elections is also important.

There is no doubt that the effectiveness of the further activity of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa, in coordination with observers from the Organization of African Unity,

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

the Commonwealth and the European Union, will largely determine the success of future elections in South Africa. In this context the question of the timely deployment of sufficient numbers of international observers in South Africa has, in our view, special significance. The Russian Federation, for its part, has already informed the Secretary-General that we are prepared to make available a significant number of Russian citizens to participate as United Nations observers.

We hope that the General Assembly will soon adopt an appropriate resolution without delay, and thereby enable a start to be made soon on solving the practical problems related to the new role of the United Nations in South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, allow me to thank my colleagues for all the kind words they have addressed to me.

Since this is the first time this month I have spoken at a formal meeting of the Security Council, I would like to join my colleagues in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. I am confident that with your wisdom, talent and vast diplomatic experience, you will guide the Council's work this month to success.

On behalf of the Chinese delegation, I would like to welcome the new members of the Council: Argentina, the Czech Republic, Nigeria, Oman and Rwanda. I would also like to express my appreciation to Cape Verde, Hungary, Japan, Morocco and Venezuela for their outstanding contribution to the work of the Council during their tenure as Council members over the past two years.

Thanks to the protracted and unremitting efforts of the South African people and the international community, positive changes have taken place in South Africa. There has been a series of developments in the peace process there. The South African Transitional Executive Council has been established and has been playing a positive role. The South African Parliament has adopted an interim constitution by an overwhelming majority, marking a new chapter in the history of South Africa. In this regard, we express our profound appreciation to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Union and the Commonwealth for their unremitting efforts over the years to resolve the South African issue.

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

China has, from the beginning, sympathized with and supported the South African people in their just struggle against apartheid and for racial equality and democratic rights. We favour the peace process in South Africa and advocate the settlement of the South African issue through political negotiations. We highly appreciate the determination and will of all the parties concerned to seek a political settlement of the South African question, and we condemn all violence, which is undermining the peace process.

The first non-racial elections in the history of South Africa are to be held in April 1994, marking a major event in the political life of the South African people. That event has already drawn wide attention from the international community. We note that with the assistance of the international community, and in particular the United Nations, the OAU and the African countries, preparations for the elections are already under way. We support the measures suggested by the Secretary-General to ensure the smooth conduct of the elections, as well as his proposal to expand the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA). Based on this position, we voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted.

It is our belief that the success of the elections in South Africa depends on the South African people themselves. We sincerely hope that all parties in South Africa will seize this historic opportunity, put the interests of the nation and the people first, overcome their difficulties and adopt effective measures to stop the violence in order to ensure that the elections

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

are held on schedule. Thus the parties would be attaining at an early date the lofty goal of building a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, and they would be contributing to the peace, stability and prosperity of Africa as a whole. China, together with the international community, will continue to make a contribution to the political settlement of the South African question.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): Now, more than ever before, the situation in South Africa is evolving in a way that gives rise to optimism - optimism that must be tempered, however, by the fact that during the year and a half that has elapsed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 772 (1992) not everything has been positive and not every step forward was unaccompanied by a step backwards.

As in any complex political process, the building of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa has taken a very long time and has been delayed for various reasons. But the current prospects are clearly positive, as the South African people prepare to take a historic step forward.

Representing a country that has long been supportive of the efforts leading to the dismantling of apartheid and the construction of a multiracial South Africa, my delegation welcomes the new positive trends, and we await the successful completion of the tasks still remaining to be accomplished.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The task of completely eliminating the unspeakable horrors of racial discrimination is far from simple.

For more than 40 years, the situation in South Africa has been thoroughly scrutinized by the relevant bodies of the United Nations as a whole and by this Council in particular. We have favoured the involvement of the Council in the promotion of a peaceful settlement of South African internal disputes. Apartheid and social and racial violence in that country have always been seen as a threat to international peace and security.

The Council meets here today to express the support of the international community for the initial strides in a great journey for the South African people.

Political developments in South Africa and the multi-party negotiations in particular have made possible the historic decision to hold the first free and democratic elections in that country on 27 April 1994. Together with the agreement on the interim constitution and the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission, these elections are a very clear indication that peace and democratization are on an irreversible course.

The United Nations must stand ready to cooperate towards this long overdue achievement. In this connection, I wish to express our thanks to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, for his untiring efforts in carrying out his highly important political responsibilities as South Africa takes the path towards democracy.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The resolution we have just adopted is a major step towards ensuring an expeditious countdown to the birth of true democracy in South Africa. We have supported the expansion of the mandate of UNOMSA so that it may play a significant role not only in assessing the ultimate freedom and fairness of the elections but also in monitoring the electoral process at each stage.

This expanded, comprehensive mandate is challenging. It will range from observation of the actions of the Independent Electoral Commission and of the extent of the freedom and fairness of the electoral process, to verification of the satisfactory implementation of the various relevant Acts and of the compliance of security forces with the requirements of the relevant laws and decisions of the Transitional Executive Council, as well as confirmation that qualified voters are indeed able to exercise their right to vote.

Another important task awaiting UNOMSA will be that of verifying that the actual voting takes place in an environment free of intimidation, one in which voters have free access to voting stations and the secrecy of their votes is guaranteed. Verification of the proper handling of ballots, the security of the vote and the timely announcement of its results will also be part of the mandate of the United Nations observers.

One of the main aspects of UNOMSA's task will be its role in coordinating the activities of observers from international organizations and foreign Governments. UNOMSA will be the core of the international monitoring process.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

We concur with the Secretary-General's assessment that the primary responsibility for the verification of the elections as free and fair rests with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). The successful outcome of the electoral process will depend primarily on the commitment of all parties concerned to the legal framework defined by the IEC and the Electoral Acts, the Independent Media Commission Act and the Independent Authority Act.

In this respect, we should not fail to express our grave concern at the persistence of pockets of violence in South Africa which can undermine the electoral process. The perpetrators of acts of violence or intimidation deserve condemnation. We regret to observe that the death toll from acts of political violence is on the rise and that, although some measures have been taken to curb violence, the results are still far from reassuring.

The expanded mandate of UNOMSA needs to be promptly implemented. We will support expeditious action on the part of the General Assembly so that the United Nations observers may be deployed without delay.

The situation in South Africa has always been a matter of great concern to the Brazilian Government. It is our firm belief that the April elections will represent a most welcome watershed in the situation in that country. We are confident that the obstacles on the road to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa will not be unsurmountable. As a South Atlantic neighbour of South Africa, Brazil looks forward to the moment when South Africa will take its place in the partnership of the countries of the Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic.

Mr. CARDENAS (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again, I should like to thank you, Sir, for the kind words of welcome which you extended earlier to Argentina and the other new members of the Security Council. We congratulate you on your skilled leadership of the Council. In conformity with tradition, we also congratulate Ambassador Li of China for his work last month.

My delegation carefully read the excellent report submitted by the Secretary-General on the question of South Africa. It was prepared with the help of Mr. Brahimi and his colleagues, who have been kind enough to attend our meetings. The thoroughness and lucidity of this document made it easier for the Council to act expeditiously in this matter. We support the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report because we believe that it is absolutely necessary for the United Nations to continue to support the peace process underway in South Africa, a pivotal issue on which the international community has focused its attention over the past few years. This has had profound moral implications.

The first democratic elections in South Africa will be held on 27 April. We are close to achieving our goal, but that is no easy task. We believe that the difficulties arise from three principal issues: the persistence of violence, the possible sabotage of the elections by certain political groups, and the severe time constraints on the preparations for the elections, especially as regards the registration and education of voters.

For that reason, we join in the appeal to all the parties to cooperate with the efforts being made to put an end to the violence and to include all the political parties in the peace process.

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

My delegation would like to praise the efforts of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) and the observers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Union and the British Commonwealth to quell the violence in South Africa, and we hope that these efforts will be pursued.

We believe that UNOMSA, relying on the positive experience of the United Nations in observing the electoral process, should be able to make a significant contribution to this process. This will be neither easy nor feasible, however, without the cooperation of the South African parties. We therefore appeal to all parties to consider the necessity of guaranteeing the complete safety of international observers and to help them fulfil their mandate.

As to the extended mandate of UNOMSA, we should like to stress the need for it to coordinate the activities of international observers sent by the OAU, the European Union, the British Commonwealth, other intergovernmental organizations or Governments. This task is of paramount importance if we are to avoid duplication of effort and make the most efficient use possible of scant resources.

Finally, we appeal to the international community to contribute generously to the special trust fund to be established by the Secretary-General to finance the participation of additional observers from the African and other developing countries, thereby guaranteeing the broadest possible participation in this process, the culmination of efforts to build a united, democratic and non-

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

racial South Africa. The international community has worked and will continue to work tirelessly towards this goal. Unreservedly and with determination, the Republic of Argentina has supported and will continue to support this effort with its own observers.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): As this is the first time that my delegation is speaking this month, I should like first to extend to you, Sir, our congratulations on the rigorous and effective manner in which you have been guiding the proceedings of the Council. In your country's first month as a member of the Security Council, you have discharged your functions as President most ably and you may rest assured that you will enjoy our cooperation.

My delegation would also like to extend its thanks to Ambassador Li of China for the very competent and effective manner in which he led the work of the Council last month.

I should also like to say how pleased Spain was to work in the Council alongside the delegations of Cape Verde, Hungary, Japan, Morocco and Venezuela, whose cooperative spirit we appreciated throughout 1993.

We also welcome the presence on the Council of our colleagues from Argentina, the Czech Republic, Nigeria, Oman and Rwanda, whose contributions will certainly enrich the Council's work.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

My delegation contributed to the drafting of the resolution just adopted by the Council and voted in its favour. This was all done very quickly, given that the electoral process underway in South Africa, which is to culminate in the elections of 27 April, requires the priority attention of the United Nations and the entire international community. We hope that the Council's decision will be followed by timely action on the part of the General Assembly.

This historic moment has arrived thanks to the courage and political vision of the principal protagonists in South Africa, President de Klerk, Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress (ANC), and the political leaders who have taken the steps necessary to dismantle the apartheid regime and move towards a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

Throughout 1993, the international community witnessed the tremendous progress made in this transitional process. The multi-party negotiating forum demonstrated flexibility and skill in achieving a consensus that allowed the establishment of the constitutional principles and the transitional institutions entrusted with leading the country towards the elections of 27 April, at which point the interim constitutional will take effect. As a result of all this, the General Assembly at its current session unanimously adopted a resolution lifting the economic sanctions imposed on South Africa. It also adopted a number of resolutions on the question of South Africa that

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

recognize and stress the tremendous changes taking place in that country that have led to a complete turnaround of the situation.

A few weeks ago, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded jointly to Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela, highlighting the entire world's recognition of the importance of the transitional process in South Africa and of the vision of those two statesmen that this process represents the only viable path for the future of South Africa. Spain earnestly hopes that 1994, and 27 April in particular, will mark the birth of a new reality in South Africa that will make it possible for that country to join the community of democratic nations and play its full role in the work of the international community.

The report submitted to us by the Secretary-General sets forth in great detail the many challenges and requirements which the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) will have to face in the rigorous and effective fulfilment of its mandate to monitor the electoral process, in addition to its current contributions to the promotion of peace in that country. My delegation would like to congratulate the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, the Electoral Division, and all UNOMSA personnel, headed by Mrs. Angela King, for the splendid job they have done in preparing the report. They have contributed to ensuring that conditions in the field will facilitate the task to be assigned to the new international observers.

(Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo, Spain)

The task that the United Nations has before it in South Africa, at the specific request of the Transitional Executive Council, is a very great challenge, because the success of the transitional process will depend, to a large extent, on the successful accomplishment of this task. Obstacles ahead are very great, and we will all have to pledge our fullest cooperation. The levels of violence which remain in certain areas of South Africa are a source of considerable concern to this Council and, indeed, are a source of concern to the Secretary-General. The resolution just adopted calls upon all parties to take measures to end the violence and acts of intimidation that are still going on. We cannot allow anyone to disrupt or hinder the smooth functioning of the electoral process. For this reason the safety of the international observers must be guaranteed so that they can do their job properly.

It is appropriate to recall that the results of free and fair elections will be a benefit to the population as a whole and will strengthen the democratic values of the society. For this reason we would express the hope that all the parties of South Africa, including those who have not fully participated in the multiparty talks, will respect the agreements reached and will participate in the elections by accepting the results democratically. The delegation of Spain is in agreement with the recommendations of the Secretary-General that appear in his report, which define the expanded mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), as set forth in paragraph 57 of the report, and specify the necessary number of observers as set forth in

(Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo, Spain)

paragraphs 91 and 92. In particular, the task of coordination with the observer missions from the Organization of African Unity, the European Union and the Commonwealth and from other organizations and States under the leadership of the United Nations, is a task of paramount importance. Spain, aware of the need to support the efforts of the international community to ensure that the elections of 27 April 1994 in South Africa be held freely and fairly, will take part in the observer mission of the European Union, of which my country is a member, and is studying the possibility of sending additional observers within the framework of the United Nations mission.

We earnestly hope that South Africa will stand as an example for the African continent and for the entire world, an example of what determination by the parties concerned and commitment to democratic principles are capable of achieving in the way of setting up a new society and a new country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria): Mr. President, permit me, first of all, to express on behalf of the Nigerian delegation our condolences to the Government and people of Norway for the sad loss of one of their distinguished public servants, the late Foreign Minister, Mr. Holst.

The Nigerian delegation takes the floor on the subject of South Africa against the backdrop of an anticipation that this subject, which has gained the attention of the international community for a very long period, has begun to evolve in a manner

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

that meets our hope that the South African problem will finally be resolved in the interest of the fruition of the democratization process. My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for his lucid report on South Africa, in which he presented the state of play in South Africa, including an indication as to the way forward. It is only appropriate that this Council has taken the bull by the horns by addressing the contents of the report in a substantive manner. We therefore wholeheartedly support the resolution which the Council has just adopted unanimously.

We find it particularly gratifying that by adopting this resolution the Security Council recognizes the positive contributions already made the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), not only to the transition process in South Africa, but to the efforts to curb the grim violence in that country. The Nigerian delegation would like to congratulate Ms. Angela King and the entire personnel of UNOMSA for the excellent work they have done and continue to do. We also commend the vigorous and effective work by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Brahimi.

My delegation commends the excellent contributions made by the Organization of African Unity to the peace process in South Africa, while recognizing the positive role of the Commonwealth and the European Union in the entire process.

The Nigerian Government supports the call for all parties in South Africa, in particular those which did not participate fully in the multiparty talks, to accept the validity of the agreements reached during the negotiations, and we urge them strongly to

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

participate fully in the forthcoming elections. All the parties also have a responsibility to respect the safety and security of international observers, who are there, after all, to encourage the process of a free and fair election and to ensure the international legitimacy of its outcome.

My delegation is also gratified by the decision made by the Secretary-General to set up a trust fund to finance the participation of additional observers from countries contiguous to South Africa, as well as from other African countries and the developing world in general. We would therefore urge Member States to contribute generously to this fund in order to avoid a sad situation whereby the only international observers who may be able to participate in the elections process in South Africa will come from the rich, developed countries alone.

As the death of the obnoxious system of apartheid nears, there are a number of important issues which we believe the international community must continue to address with a sense of urgency. These include the issue of violence, the elections of 27 April themselves, and the needs of post-apartheid South Africa. I therefore crave the Council's indulgence as I call the attention of the international community to the continuing difficulties inherent in dealing with each of these three issues.

I turn first to the issue of violence. Violence in South Africa is compounded by growing criminality, glaring socio-economic inequalities, political, racial and ethnic intolerance, easy access to fire arms, failure of the criminal justice system to act effectively, and the mistrust of the South African police by the

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

majority of the people of South Africa. Frustrated young black South Africans, 90 per cent of whom are unemployed, constitute a fertile ground for political confrontation. Political violence continues to be mainly concentrated in Natal and the East Rand, which together accounted for approximately 90 per cent of the death toll by December 1993. Although December continued a downward trend in political deaths nationally since the surge in July 1993, the year finished with a total of 25 per cent more deaths than occurred in the previous year. The daily death rate still exceeds 12, which is totally unacceptable, and the total death toll for 1993 was 4,364, or 27.7 per cent more than the 1992 total of 3,499. The expected increase in the political violence in the run-up to the elections was mostly ascribed to political competition between rival parties and the possibility of attempts by some to derail the electoral process, in which many fear they may not be able to win sufficient support.

Since the prospect of establishing a trained national peace-keeping force before the elections is very remote indeed, and the task of maintaining law and order will remain the responsibility of the current security forces, there is an urgent need for the reorientation and retraining of the existing police force. We believe that the reoriented and retrained South African police force could use technical assistance from outside South Africa, and we recommend a more proactive role by UNOMSA, and those international monitoring teams associated with UNOMSA, in helping to reduce the level of violence. The broad agreement on a composite plan to end the violence, or at least to reduce its

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

incidence, recently reached by Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk, should also be welcomed, although the details of the agreement are not yet available.

Secondly, I turn to the 27 April elections themselves. The future of South Africa now depends on the outcome of these elections. Free and fair elections require that political parties should be able to campaign freely, throughout the country, without any hindrance, and that all voters should be able to participate in the election process free from the fear of intimidation.

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

My delegation notes with satisfaction, however, the legal framework of the electoral process as defined by the Independent Electoral Commission and the Electoral Acts, the Independent Media Commission Act and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act. These four Acts, in our opinion, provide a legitimate framework for the conduct of free and fair elections. Certainly, as President F. W. de Klerk noted, South Africa has extensive experience in, and should be capable of organizing and conducting, elections. They have done so in the past. But there are many reasons for the international community to assist South Africans in this forthcoming election. This will, after all, be the first democratic, non-racial election in the history of the country. The majority of the population will also be voting for the first time in their lives. One third of them are functionally illiterate.

Taking into consideration political, racial, ethnic and religious divergences in their society, there is an absolute need to ensure that the results are accepted by an overwhelming majority, as well as by the international community. The presence of an adequate number of international electoral observers is intended not only to help South Africans in the electoral process, but also to help in building confidence in the process.

There is also a need to accelerate the programme of voter education. Voter education requires special attention, since the majority of the population of South Africa, as I have said earlier, will take part in elections for the first time ever, and also the high level of functional illiteracy among the majority sector of

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

the population must be taken into account. It is therefore a matter of great concern to my delegation that the rural communities and the informal peri-urban squatters' communities continue to be neglected by most of the established voter-education programmes. That is why we call on UNOMSA, particularly with its expanded mandate, to include the matter of liaison with those who are coordinating such programmes of voter education, particularly for these peri-urban squatter communities and the rural communities.

Finally, we have to begin to address the needs of post-apartheid South Africa. If the basic socio-economic needs of the people are not immediately met, the durability of political settlement cannot be assured and the prospect of a peaceful transition is likely to be severely threatened. The crucial task is to alleviate the large scale of poverty and the great inequalities between blacks and whites and to improve the overall standards of living of the majority of the people of South Africa. My delegation believes that without massive international assistance a new government will not be able to cope with the acute social and economic problems. There would be a crisis of rising and unfulfilled expectations which could undermine the future of a non-racial, democratic government in South Africa.

As we all know, the time factor is now of great importance. Therefore, my delegation believes that no effort should be spared to ensure the prompt implementation of this latest decision of the Security Council.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the Czech Republic.

Before I speak to the matter at hand, allow me to join several other speakers and to express the deep distress of the Czech Republic over the passing of His Excellency Johan Jorgen Holst, the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Norway. History will not forget his towering achievement in facilitating the negotiations between Israel and the PLO and the subsequent signing of the Declaration of Principles between these two parties. The common cliché of "untimely death" has seldom been more appropriate than now. Mr. Holst has left us at the peak of his professional accomplishments and has left behind his young family. We shall surely mourn him with his family and the Government and people of Norway.

Turning to the issue of South Africa, the Czech Republic believes that the success of the process of bringing democracy to that country in a peaceful way is of paramount importance for the entire continent - nay, the world. We welcome the progress that has been attained so far. Efforts manifested in this process will culminate in free elections and in the complete dismantling of the apartheid system. In its foreign policy, the Czech Republic, and before it Czechoslovakia, has always favoured the formation of a colour-blind multiracial society and body politic in South Africa.

Having themselves experienced a profound democratic transformation only four years ago, and having prior to that shouldered for several decades the burden of an oppressive regime, the Czech people know how to appreciate a non-violent transition to

(The President)

democracy. The paragraph of the resolution which calls upon all parties to end violence and intimidation is one that strikes very close to home. The absence of violence is a key condition for the democratic competition of political parties, and their adherence to the cooperatively set rules of competition is a fundamental prerequisite for the upcoming elections being free and fair and encompassing all segments of the population.

The elections are crucial, and their monitoring by thousands of international observers is a crucial contribution to fulfilling the hopes South Africans and the international community are placing in them. We support the expansion of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) along the lines recommended by the Secretary-General in his excellent, well-structured and comprehensive report, including its addendum, and the expansion of UNOMSA's mandate so that it can effectively deal with the fluid situation as it develops on the ground. We feel that the presence of observers, particularly from countries which themselves have recently experienced a transition to democracy, including post-Communist countries, as well as from democracies in Africa, could particularly enhance the value of this effort. Basic protection of the physical safety of the observers is, of course, a must; and it is, indeed, sad testimony to the situation in South Africa that this issue has had to be highlighted so visibly in the resolution we have just approved.

It is important, in conclusion, not to forget that the history of South Africa will not come to an end on 27 April 1994.

(The President)

Elections will be just another step, albeit a critically important step, in the formation of a democratic society in that country. We wish all our South African friends success, not only in the electoral democratic exercise, but also in their efforts to build a civic society based on the equality of all citizens.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.